821 "Kengelekezeeeee!" and this exclamation is repeated from one village to another. *Kenge* is the descriptive adverb which means the form of the crescent of the moon. Each "moon," or month, is considered as being a new one, the old one having died, and there were special names for each month of the year (See Part VI).

[841] 856 828 821 852 As soon as the mother of the child has resumed her menses (the menses are called tinwheti, months) and this happens as a rule on the third month after the delivery amongst Thonga women, she takes her garments, washes them, puts on new clothing and then proceeds to the ceremony of the *yandla*. The child must be "given his month." This is done in the following way. The day the new moon appears, the mother takes with her a torch or merely a brand from the fire and the grandmother follows her carrying the child: both go to the ash-heap behind the hut. There the mother throws the burning stick towards the moon and the grandmother flings the child into the air saying: "This is your moon!" (hweti ya ku hi yoleyo): then she puts the child on to the ashes. The little one cries and rolls over in the dirt on the ash-heap. Then his mother snatches him up (wutla), nurses him, and they go home.

This ceremony, which is certainly a rite of passage, is said to "open the chest of the child" otherwise "his ears would die," he would remain stupid. When a child is not intelligent, it is usual to say to him: You have not been shown your moon! (1)

852 846 854 Therefore the *yandla* means a progress made by the child, the entrance into a new phase of his existence. The fact is emphasised by the three following changes which take place on the day of the yandla: 1) Henceforth his father is allowed to take the child in his arms. Up to that day, this was taboo, as the child being continually with his mother was perhaps polluted by the dangerous blood following the birth; but now she has washed her clothing and has been purified by the reappearance of the menses; so the danger no longer exists. 2) It is now

(1) However the name of the child's month is soon forgotten and is never afterwards recalled. This seems to show that the custom is dying out, as well as the knowledge of the names of the various months.

726 have given you all my strength ; go and slay." They crossed the
789 river at night and having reached the left bank, at a point about ten
751 kilometers from the Portuguese camp at Morakwene, they were made to observe the strictest silence for a long time. Then they felt that valour (burena) had taken possession of them!

Amongst the Ba-Nkuna the war-medicine is also administered under the form of *sprinkling*. This sprinkling may take place in time of peace, when danger threatens. The chief kills a black ox and the army, summoned to the capital, is sprinkled and eats the flesh of the ox. This will make the country ready for any eventuality. But the ceremony is much more serious when war is at hand. Then the "great medicine of the country," carefully kept in the calabashes of the Court magicians, is mixed with *psanyi* of slaughtered sheep and with white sand taken from the river. During the night, the mukhumbi is formed and all the men sit down, their heads bowed over their knees,
726 their eyes closed, in perfect silence. Then one of the queens,
789 an old woman who no longer has any sexual relations, enters
751 the circle, absolutely naked. She dips a leafy branch into the
562 magical infusion and marches all round, inside and outside, sprinkling all the warriors and muttering the following words : "Kill them, break their pots, kill their dogs, catch their chief, bring him here, bring so-and-so and so-and-so." The warriors tremble with emotion. They pray to their gods in a low tone : "Save me! Help me!" But none of them dares to raise his eyes! They know quite well that they would die!

It is extremely important that the officiating woman should be old and have had no sexual relations for a long time, or "the assagais would lose their strength ; the masculine weapons would become blind and the feminine weapons alone would see... The woman would have untied the knot of the assagai ; she would cross the way (tjemakanya) of the great medicine... She must be a quiet woman (a rula)". (Mankhelu).

726 Similar customs exist in *Maputju*, where the medicine is called
789 "the medicine of hatred,"—that which dispels all natural feeling
828 and makes a man capable of killing his fellow-man! I give the particulars of this curious medical treatment as I have them from

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

726 one of the Natives of the country : there are no fewer than seven
789 acts in this grand performance of "preparation for battle."
143 *a)* In the first place when the chief foresees that a campaign is
828 imminent, he has water drawn, and all the necessary ingredients gathered together : then he goes into retirement for one month, during which he is busy preparing the medicine with the magician who knows all about the recipe.

b) At the end of this time the entire army is summoned to the capital. A bull is brought out before the assembled soldiers and the chief strikes it on the head with a stick : this infuriates the animal, which must be caught and thrown down by the men unarmed ; the chief then approaches and kills it with an axe. They dismember the carcase, cutting off the flesh in strips, which they cook in a large battered pot, stirring it with their assagais and pouring into it at the same time "the medicine of hatred."

c) On this day the army is mustered and formed in a circle. The Commander-in-Chief takes the meat, cuts it into small pieces and mixes with it certain human ingredients : a finger taken from a hostile petty chief killed in battle has been carefully preserved ; the dried up phalange is scraped and the bone-dust thus obtained is mixed with the medicine. This additional ingredient is to prevent any feeling of remorse, any prickings of conscience : "ku susa lipfalo," literally "to remove the diaphragm," the seat of the conscience, according to Ronga ideas. (See later on a more probable explanation of this rite.) The Commander-in-Chief takes the pieces of meat thus seasoned and throws them into the mouths of the soldiers, who must not touch them with their hands. The food must be received between the teeth ; any meat falling to the ground is picked up by the children.

d) On the following day, the whole army proceeds to a large lake (the lake of Shika, near the village of Nhlampfukazi) to be treated with another medicine, an emetic. This is placed on a skin in the middle of the lake : the skin is withdrawn, leaving the particles of the drug floating on the water ; each warrior must stoop down and swallow a mouthful of the emetic. He will vomit yesterday's meat : "fear will be thrown up and valour will remain"

727 They have killed... So they are exposed to the mysterious and
775 deadly influence of the *nuru* and must consequently undergo a
828 medical treatment. What is the *nuru* ? *Nuru* is the spirit of the
783 slain which tries to take its revenge on the slayer. It haunts him
789 and may drive him into insanity : his eyes swell, protrude and
761 become inflamed. He will go out of his mind, be attacked by giddiness (ndzululwan) and the thirst for blood may lead him to fall upon members of his own family and to stab them with his assagay. To prevent such misfortunes, a special medication is required : the slayers must *lurulula tiyimpi ta bu*, take away the nuru of their sanguinary expedition. (Lurulula comes from nuru, plur. miluru (1).

In what does this treatment consist ? The slayers must remain for some days at the capital. They are taboo. They put on old clothes, eat with special spoons because their hands are

764 (1) We met with the notion of *nuru* for the first time à propos of the rite of
775 luma (p. 400) ; we shall find it again when dealing with hunting customs (Part IV).
761 The nuru is to be feared not only in the case of slain enemies but in connexion with any human corpse. As a proof, I may quote the following curious story which Spoon told me and of the truth of which he was fully convinced. A traveller died under the great fig-tree of Libombo (near Rikatla). He had climbed on to the tree and fallen on his own stick, which he had planted in the ground. He was not buried, as no one knew him. So his corpse fell into decomposition on the spot; his skull became white. Later on a bush fire burnt all the grass and the skull was
764 seen for years "saying mpha" (it was shining), the teeth "saying bva" (descriptive
775 adverb, same meaning). One day the boys of Libombo went to pick wild figs from
755 the tree and again saw the skull. Spoon was one of them. The fire had just passed
789 by again. "We beat it with our sticks and amused ourselves by rolling it over like a
761 ball. We did not know it was a human skull... When we got home we began to be seized by the drunkenness of nuru, the disease of those who have killed a man. During the night we were delirious (hanta-hanteka), our eyes swelled and were full of exudations (malanga), the four of us, Tsukela, Tlabin, Sibakuze and myself. Next morning my uncle went to the fig-tree and saw that we had killed a man there! The medicine-man who understands the treatment of nuru, Dudela, who had been a slayer in war, called us to his village. We stood in a line before him ; he poured a little of his powder into the hands of each one of us, took a little in his mouth, rubbed his forehead. Then he insulted us saying : "You will die! Who began beating that skull ?" Each of us denied having given the first blow. Then he said : "Take care! Do not go there any more nor near that nkuhlu tree where another corpse has been burnt under the leaves! Go away."

514 When a man has murdered another in a scuffle, he can replace this nuru medicine
789 by his own urine. He must drink a little of it and rub his forehead with it. The
775 giddiness will pass away. If the murder has been committed from a distance, as with a gun, the nuru is not so much to be feared, as the enemy was far away. A little of the medicine will be sufficient to treat the murderer. Spoon is ignorant of the composition of the nuru drug.
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761

789 the medicine of the slayers of men. At bukanye time they can
727 use it to *luma*, viz., to season the first calabash they drink (See
828 page 400). For this purpose it is as good as the great mbhulo,
783 "the medicine of the country," provided by the chief, and it will prevent them attacking their own people under the influence of drink. The *tintebe* will also be helpful in future battles. The insanity which threatens those who shed blood might begin early. So, on the battle-field itself, just after their deed, warriors are given a preventive dose of the medicine by those who have killed on previous occasions and who wear tintebe.

789 The period of seclusion having been concluded by the final
783 purification, all the implements (mizilo) used by the slayers
727 during these days, and their old garments, are tied together and hung by a string to a tree, at some distance from the capital, where they are left to rot (1).

Having reached their homes, the slayers have still to complete the cure by chewing a piece of root called monungwane every morning and evening, and spitting it out in the direction of the rising or the setting sun with the same exclamation: "Phee! phee!" — "Go down, sink!" The piece of root is tied to the assagay (2).

727 The description of the rites performed for the treatment of the slayers
828 applies especially to the Northern clans. But the following narrative
789 of an old man named Makhani from the Rikatla region shows that
783 similar customs were also in existence amongst the Ba-Ronga. This man had wounded an enemy in a battle; the wound proved fatal and the

(1) I had the good luck to find those which were used for the purification of the slayers after the Mooudi fight during the Sikororo war and they are now in the Ethnographical Museum of Neuchâtel. They consist of half a dozen old calabashes, a pair of sandals, etc.

171 (2) Purification customs for the warriors are somewhat different amongst the Pedis. After the Mooudi battle, the slayers of Maaghe's yimpi had to undergo the following medicinal treatment: the heart of the slain having been torn out, the muscles of their faces sliced off, their limbs amputated, all these portions of human flesh mixed with drugs and ox-flesh were cooked in a pot, the assagais being used to stir the horrible broth. This was poured into a flat basket which it is taboo to touch; some one drew it with a curved assagay as far as the middle of the square. Then the slayers, having been previously white-washed with clay, advanced on their knees, and, with vociferations or cries imitating vultures, caught a piece of meat in their teeth, not touching it with their hands. Their wives are said to participate in this meal, as being also contaminated by the defilement of their glorious husbands.

727 enemy died later on, after his return to his home. Makhani did not
828 know this. One day he became suddenly delirious and rushed about
789 all over the village trying to stab his own people. "Oho!" said those
783 who saw him, "it is because the man he wounded has died!" They at once called the magician who possessed the nuru medicine, a man of the Mapsangamye clan, who came with his calabash. In this calabash there was a carved stick cut from a tree called shiralala, the extremity of which must always remain plunged in the medicine. The magician dipped this stick into a mixture made of honey and the drug, and passed it over the lips of Makhani, who seized it with his tongue, sucking it as the magician moved it from right to left, and licking his lips. A drop of the medicine was then put into each ear, on each upper eye-lid, and below the sternum. He was then cured and, taking a lighted torch, he threw it in the direction of the enemy's country with threatening words: "A ba fe, bafo, ba bola i. e. Let them die, the enemies, let them rot. I will kill still others!" Every day he had to go to the pool and wash his body, treating himself with the tintebe powder.

727 During the weeks following the battle heroes do not only
301 wear the tintebe, besides these miluru amulets, they have the
703 right to wear certain trophies. These are in the first place
634 antelope or goat's horns pierced at the base; they thread a string through the hole thus made and tie them round their necks (See illustrations, p. 33 and 453). They also make necklaces of small pieces of wood, notched in a peculiar manner and burnt in the fire; a hole is made through these and they are strung together like beads and worn round the neck. Sometimes these necklaces are made so long that they are worn as a bandoleer. I recollect seeing the Matjolo warriors returning from their expedition of February 1895: they came to show themselves off to the Whites at Lourenço Marques, gloriously proud of having massacred defenceless women and children whom they had surprised in the early hours of the morning! People threw them pieces of silver which they converted into brandy! (1)

727 (1) The terrible malediction which rests on those who have killed an enemy
775 is well illustrated by the following story which the Rev. [illegible] Maphophe told me of an
761 event that had taken place not long ago in the Shishonga country (Manyisa district). A man of the Ndzindzi family had killed a Ndjao during one of Gungunyana's expedi-

244 pumpkins, another will go to the field and plant some seeds in
753 it without the old man's knowledge ; then people will venture to
824 plant in their own gardens. Transgression of this taboo is said to be punished by lumbago.

222 There are, besides, many wild plants which the housewives
824 collect and of which they make excellent dishes : the *tjeke*, a
828 kind of Chenopodiacea, which is also used as a medicine to induce forgetfulness ; the *nkakana*, a pretty plant of the Cucurbitaceae family, which climbs up the dried stems of maize after the harvest, and of which they eat the leaves and also the pretty little oval pointed fruit.

137 *Tomatoes* (shimati) are also found growing round the villages,
285 where they propagate themselves, and seem to prosper the better the less they are cared for : the Natives take them to Lourenço Marques for sale in very original baskets made of a single palm leaf, with the follicles artistically twisted. I am unable to say when they were introduced. There is a agreeable kind of small tomato which grows wild in Khosen, about the size of a cherry.

244 Natives also cultivate a kind of *onion* (nyala, yi-tin), smaller than the European varieties, which they very much appreciate in their sauces.

249 *The sugar cane* (moba, mu-mi) is never grown in large plantations, but you find it on the Coast, as well as in Zoutpansberg, cultivated on a small scale, either for eating, or for preparing the strong *shiwayawaya* drink, which I shall describe later on.

245 The *pine-apple* (lalasi, dji-ma) has spread as far as the Bilene country and must be of ancient date ; it differs considerably from the Natal pine-apple, being longer, coarser and not so sweet. In many villages large plantations are to be seen.

249 *Tobacco* (fole, dji-ma) is also wide-spread and seems to have been cultivated for a long time. A curious fact is that its cultivation is the business of the men, and women have nothing to do with it. Amongst the Ba-Ronga it is sown first in a damp spot in the marsh, in a special little garden called *shibibi*, and, when it has grown a little, is planted out (simeka) on the hill, near the villages. When nearly ripe the lower leaves are first

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821 which is also met with in *nyeleti* (star) and in the names of certain rivers. (I. p. 36.) At the present time there is no trace of worship or of mythological conceptions in connection with it. Natives see in its spots a woman carrying a shirundju basket or a bundle of sticks, but they do not attach to that image more importance than we do when we talk of the man in the moon.

821 527 241 I have described (I. p. 52) how the new moon is received with exclamations of joy : in the villages the first person who sees it shouts : "Kengelekezeeee,"—"the Crescent! the Crescent!" and this word is passed on from one village to another, and dancers rejoice because they will have moonlight to illuminate their feasts! Such is, at least, the reason now given by the Rongas for this custom. There were perhaps other ideas connected with the new moon in former times. — According to a Nkuna informant the day of the new moon is a *shimuni*, a day of rest. It is taboo to till the fields and cut the roots of the trees with a hoe. The moon must be left to become firm (tiyela). It is still tender as a new born child. Destroying winds might 821 blow and hail fall if this taboo were transgressed. — The 787 appearance of the crescent was also carefully examined, says the 828 same informant. If its horns were turned towards the earth, this showed that there was nothing to fear, all the dangers contained in this month had been poured out : "mafumo ma hangalakile" — "the assagais were dispersed." On the contrary, if the horns were turned towards heaven, this showed that the moon was full of weapons and misfortunes. — The new moon is of great importance in the customs connected with exorcism and possession, as every exorcist must undergo the *haza* purification at each new moon (Chapter III). Moreover Thongas, like many civilised people, also believe that some persons at this time have an attack of madness which is called *rihuhe ra ñhweti*, the lunar madness.

772 821 When the first quarter appears, the moon is said to *thwaza*, a Zulu word which corresponds to *tjhama* in Thonga, and is very much used in the terminology of possession. Eight days later, it is said to *basa*, to be white or brilliant ; full moon is said to *sima* or to *lata batjongwana*, to put the little children to bed, because when it rises, it finds them already sleeping on their mats.

also belch, to show the mysterious power hidden within them. 827

When any one *sneezes* it is the signal for bestowing upon him good wishes : "Butomi ni burongo!" — "Life and sleep!" The sneezer himself may begin to pray as follows : "Bupsayi! Bukwari! (two liturgical words of invocation to the gods) I pray to you! I have no anger against you! Be with me, and let me sneeze! Let me know sleep and let me know life, that I may go by the road, that I may find an antelope (dead in the bush), that I may take it on my shoulders; or that I may go and kill 'ndlopfu bukene,' an elephant, (viz., meet with a girl and obtain her favour), etc. Now I say it is enough, you my nose!"

Cutting the *hair* has been referred to already (I, p. 146, II. p. 99). 826
In Tembe and Nondwane there is a curious superstition regarding hair : it is taboo to throw it away without precaution, otherwise a bird called *makhondjwana*, or *ñwantshekuto*, might find it and line its nest with it, and your hair would not grow any more!

IV. *The human soul.*

Thongas have a quantity of names to designate the *psychic* 826
faculties and generally locate them in various organs of the body. 828
Patience resides in the liver, and the identification is so complete that there is but one word to express both the organ and the virtue : *shibindji*! *Hatred* is located in the spleen, and both are called *libengo* (from ku benga, to hate). *Mbilu*, the heart, is the seat of *genius* and intellectual gifts. A man expert in certain arts and crafts has been taught by his heart. From the heart come the decisions of the will : a heathen cannot be converted to Christianity because his heart has not yet told him to be so (mbilu a yi si hlaya). To have a good heart implies kindness, compassion. The chest, *shifuba*, not the lungs, is the seat of intelligence and eloquence (as pectus in Latin). A dumb man is a man "whose chest is dead." The diaphragm either *lipfalo*, sing., or *timpfalo*, plur., or *mapfalo*, is the conscience ; its contractions are identical with qualms of conscience (p. 75). The head and the bowels do not seem to be the seat of any special faculty.

754 magician shuts him in with the dying man in the hut and gives him
774 the following command : "Bring back the spirit which you have
taken and hidden somewhere." Some magicians, who are more
761 powerful than the wizards, pretend to be able to find the stolen
spirit and so to restore the patient to health. In cases of epilepsy,
or of any psychic trouble attended with unconsciousness, when the
sick person returns to his senses, they triumph : have they not
brought back the soul? But they say that this must be done in
haste. No time must be lost!

775 Lastly, the final unsheathing of personality takes place at death.
The body becomes rotten, but the shadow goes away and continues
its life as a god, shikwembu. The belief in the continuation of life
after death is universal, being at the base of Ancestrolatry, which
is the religion of the tribe. We shall study the ideas relating to the
future life when dealing with the gods.

What Thongas can absolutely not understand is the resurrection of the body. "Mbuti yi fa, yi bola ; homu yi fa, yi bola ; munhu a fa, a bola!" — "The goat dies and rots, the ox dies and rots, man dies and rots!" answers the sceptical Thonga when he hears the story of the resurrection.

On the whole their ideas of future life are not so very different from those of the ancient Greeks, who believed that the human soul went after death to the realm of shadows.

787 *Dreams* are not generally liked by the Thongas. If something
828 they happened to dream really takes place, it "disgusts" them
(nyenyetsa). When a man has seen a woman several times in his
dreams, especially if she was pregnant, he will consult the bones.
If he dreams that he has relations with her, he may go next day and
hit her with a stick. He leaves the stick on the ground and goes
away without a word. According to Mboza, this is done to get
rid of the obsession, and to prevent the dream from becoming
reality. That is the reason, I suppose, why a Christian boy once
said to his missionary : "I dream of many people, but I keep quiet!"
Amongst Thongas dreams do not seem to play the great part
which the animistic theory attributes to them in the formation
of primitive beliefs.

lightning), or animistic (Son-of-the-Moth). But they are not of much importance. They belong to the same category as the description given by the Psalmist of the sun as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, or to that of Homer comparing the break of the day to a young damsel with rosy fingers. This is poetry, mere personification of natural objects, or forces, and not beliefs. The poetical tendency is very marked amongst primitive races. It may be that ideas of this kind were more firmly held in former times, if the tribe has really passed through a more mythological phase, a hypothesis for which there are some grounds.

771 774

2) Collective beliefs.

The beliefs of the Thongas which deserve to be called by that name because they are universal and express themselves in important rites and customs, are the following :

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1. The human soul continues its existence after death, when it is endowed with new powers which make it an object of awe and fear. *The spirits of the ancestors* are the main objects of religious worship. They form the principal category of spirits (psikwembu).

775

2. Although the spirits of the departed generally have nothing to do with people other than their descendants, some of them, especially *those belonging to foreign tribes*, can take possession of living men and cause troubles which must be cured by a process of exorcism. This is the second category of spirits.

[789]

3. Some individuals have the power of magically unsheathing themselves during the night, and their spirit goes out to torment, or to kill and eat other people. These are *the wizards* (baloyi) ; this third category of spirits accomplish their wicked deeds when separated from the body, but their body is still living and they re-enter it. These three beliefs are distinctly animistic.

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4. There is in man, and in a few large animals, a semi-spiritual principle, the nuru, which escapes from the body when the individual is killed in war, or in hunting, and through which the dead man, or animal, avenges himself or itself on the murderer. What is the relation between the nuru and the shadow (sitjhuti)? This is not stated. The nuru seems to be of a more material nature, as it can enter a root, and it remains attached to the corpse and the bones of the person or animal killed. This category of spiritual enemies, probably invented under the influence of fear and remorse, has no connection with ordinary people,

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771 and only troubles those who have killed, rendering them, as is generally
774 believed, insane. — The nuru belief seems to be a compromise between
828 Animism and Dynamism. (See p. 77-80.)

789 5. There are in plants, animals, stones, hidden virtues which can be either useful or harmful to man. Medicine-men (tinanga) possess a more or less esoteric knowledge of such, and magicians (bangoma), endowed with special powers, can acquire a control over these virtues and use them in medical art, or in magic. — This is true Dynamism.

6. Certain natural objects, such as the sea, the bush fire, are sometimes vaguely personified. — This is Animatism.

772 7. But above them all is Heaven, Tilo, which is sometimes looked on as a real being, sometimes as an impersonal power, a number of mysterious superstitions finding their explanation in this strange and perhaps obsolete notion of Heaven. — This is more than Animatism and seems to be a vague theistic, even monotheistic, idea.

771 The essential difference between Animism and Dynamism seems to
774 me clear. But it is by no means absolute. We shall often meet with rites which belong to both domains, or bear an intermediate character. In the following chapters the exact nature and influence of these various kinds of spirits and impersonal forces will be studied, and I hope that an explanation of all the facts concerning them will throw more light on the subject and show that, at any rate, Thonga Animism is very different from the Animism of the Dutch East Indies, for instance, where men speak of thousands of spirits of the earth, air, water, mountains and trees ; very different also from the fetichism met with in other Bantu tribes of Central and Western Africa.

* * *

82 Before leaving this chapter, in which I have tried to sketch what I have
789 called by the rather pretentious term of The Natural Philosophy of the Bantus, and as a preparation for the explanation of the religious and dynamistic rites described in the following chapters, I think it advisable to set forth the principles which seem to underlie most of these rites, and which may be called the *axioms of primitive mentality*.

As regards what are commonly called *magic rites* I contend that they are in no sense purely arbitrary but that they rest on certain definite principles. These axioms of primitive mentality are what anthropologists fittingly call collective representations, viz., everybody believes

755 When the disease has run its course, and the pustules have dried
783 up, a day is appointed on which the marginal period will come to an end, and the clan return to its regular life. This return is marked by the special *Reintegration and Purification rites*, which aim at removing the defilement acquired by the disease. The main purificatory rite, that which regularly closes a marginal period, is *the smearing of all the huts* with a new layer of clay, either mixed with cow's dung or not. The old ground is for ever covered. It is a way of saying : "Behold, the former things are passed away, everything has become new." On the morning of that day, every patient must go and wash his body *on the road*, as if to pour all the filth of the disease on to it. Moreover, the ashes found in the fire-places inside the huts, the necklaces of mealie grains, the implements used by the people who have been seriously ill, sometimes their garments, the ochre with which they anointed themselves, all the things which were employed in connection with the scourge, are collected and thrown indiscriminately on to the large paths, preferably on the places where two roads cross each other, a rite which is by no means altruistic, and still less antiseptic! We shall see shortly how it is to be explained.

828 *Nervous diseases* are peculiarly feared by Natives. *Melancholia*
755 is believed to be caused by those spirits of possession which will form the subject of the next paragraph. *Idiocy* has no remedy ; nothing can be done with an idiot : "It is death! It has found him!" (Mankhelu). *Delirium* (mihahamo) is cured by *Mbulula khutla*. The patient must enter the hole from which clay is taken for smearing the huts, and is washed with a decoction of the drug when in this hole. Moreover a stick of the same tree is cut and kept in the roof of the hut, and the person who sleeps with the patient will take it every night and place it near his head. "Thus we kill delirium." (Mankhelu). — Another form of insanity is called *rihuhe*, "the disease which comes from far away with the winds" — "ri pfa timhehwen" (Mankhelu). A drug is prepared with the *shiromo* root, mixed with the lung of a sheep and the blood

782 to Small-Pox (with capital letters) may be compared with that pronounced when an imprecation has been uttered or when someone wishes to cancel his oath (p. 399).

found inside its heart. All these things are burnt in a broken pot, and made into a medicinal powder. The patient is brought to the broken pot; a cut is made in his head, so that it bleeds abundantly until the pot is filled with blood; the blood boils in the pot, it solidifies and is burnt. The ñanga takes it and buries it in an ant's nest, according to the timula rite described below. The wound of the patient is filled with the medicine; he eats the meat, he sleeps: — "If you have been equal to the occasion, he will be cured; you have given him lots of sleep. — You have killed the *rihuhe*" (Mankhelu). The *wutleka* disease means both the *convulsions* of little children generally explained by the agency of Heaven, called Tilo (p. 431), and epilepsy. The great remedy for the latter disease, which greatly terrifies the Natives, is provided by monkeys and baboons. Pieces of their skin and their excrement are roasted in a broken pot. Some pieces of lion's skin are added; when the powder is prepared, the limbs of the patient are smeared with it; his body is also sprinkled with a decoction made of these drugs, or an ointment is prepared from them and applied to the head, the fingers, and all the limbs, which are then pulled with some force (olola). The patient is laid down and leaves of the hlampfura tree (Kigelia pinnata) are put on his head: — "He sleeps, he passes water, he evacuates stools, he is cured!" But to confirm the healing, a very curious ceremony is performed which reminds one of the rite of the scapegoat, so often met with amongst primitives. The doctor makes the image of a monkey (habu) with a kind of grass called *muhulane*; this image is smeared with the drugs just described, and fastened to a long rope; a little boy must then drag the dummy out of the village, and all his comrades hit him with sticks, saying: "Go away! Go away!" He runs until he reaches a tree far away in the bush. All the boys hang the figure to it, and it remains there swinging in the wind. The disease has thus been expelled.

When folly is accompanied by great excitement, and there is danger of the people of the village being mishandled by the sufferer, he is prevented from doing harm by means of fetters. These consist of a log of wood pierced through by a lozenge-shaped hole into which the foot of the madman is introduced; a wooden bolt is

128 758 then fixed across the hole in such a way that he will be unable to withdraw it. When he wishes to walk he is obliged to drag along the heavy log. He very soon loses his strength, being ill-fed, and covered with vermin, and dies in a terrible condition.

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757 In our study of these various treatments, we have met with about twenty different prescriptions of Native physicians, containing, in all, some 40 to 50 different drugs, to be made use of in various ways : outward application, inhalation, fumigation, infusion, decoction, inoculation, manducation of carbonised or pulverised drugs, etc. We are then entitled to assert that, up to a certain point, the Blacks do possess an *ars medica*. To complete our review of medical matters, I must further mention a few curious practices of the Thonga doctors, which forcibly remind us of those to which our own practitioners sometimes have recourse.

Let us begin with *cupping*. A full account of this will be found in the story of the "Gambadeur de la Plaine" (*Chants et Contes des Ba-Ronga*, page 357) where a young girl resuscitates a buffalo by performing this operation. She proceeds as follows. Water is boiled and in it is placed the packet of roots required ; a spot in the temporal region is carefully washed, and a few incisions are made with a razor (likari). A particular horn (nhluku ya ku lumeka), which is open at both ends, is placed over the incisions and the operator, putting his mouth to the horn, draws in his breath, causing the blood to flow freely. The wound is then exposed to the vapour emanating from the boiling *shitsimbo* packet, and smeared with a particular ointment, kept in a calabash.

[783] The next in order of the practices which we are noticing, is the *phungulo* (Dj.), or *hungulo* (Ro.), a kind of *Turkish or vapour bath*, which is administered in certain complaints and also after the funeral rites, in order to remove the contamination of death (I. p. 145). A circular enclosure is made, with a screen of matting, in the middle of which the patient is placed, and, close by him,

village is at once removed. Leprosy is called *nhlulabadahi*, the disease which is stronger than the doctors. It is very much dreaded ; lepers are not, however, segregated ; they live in the village with other people and even attend beer-parties, but they bring their own mugs, whilst every other guest receives a drinking utensil from the master of the village. 758

Another disease which is believed to be contagious is "possession" by the *Bandjao spirits*. Should you pick up on the road some object which belonged to one of the possessed, his madness will jump to you (tlulela). — Epilepsy is also dreaded on that account. A nursing woman must not see any one suffering from an attack of this disease, or the child which is on her shoulders will become epileptic. 753 828

Speaking of the conception of disease, I must remind the reader of the fact that *sexual relations* between the inhabitants of the village are believed to aggravate the condition of the patient dwelling in it (I. p. 133, II. p. 358), and are consequently forbidden during epidemics and in any case of serious illness. Hence the precautions which convalescents must take of wearing the *sungi*, as we have just seen. 753 834

4) The special rites which mark the end of an illness throw much light on the Thonga conception of disease. A serious illness constitutes a marginal period either for the individual concerned, or, in the case of an epidemic, for the community, and the hondlola rite is the method by which the patient is reintegrated into society ; it clearly has the character of a passage rite. The rubbing with psanyi, the removal of the defilement of disease, the throwing away of the "timbhorola," the cutting of nails and hair, all these are rites of separation from the period of disease, whilst the feast of the hondlola day, and the resuming of sexual relations (1) are rites of reintegration. In the disease of possession, as we shall see it is the reintegration into the society of spirit-possessed persons and amounts to an initiation. 753 783 184 755

(1) We often hear of a Christian woman, who has gone to a heathen medicine-man for treatment, having sexual intercourse with him. We generally attribute this fact to immorality alone, but it was probably a part of the treatment, at the precise moment when sexual taboos were removed.

754 Two questions here arise. Does the Native mind imagine that
828 a true unsheathing of the personality takes place when the baloyi go on their nocturnal expedition, or that they leave the hut themselves, in their entirety, in their ordinary persons? As far as I could make out, the Sutho theory is different from the Thonga. The Ba-Sutho say that the wizard goes altogether, soul and body. Nothing remains on the mat when he has departed for his nocturnal ride! He casts spells over the other inhabitants of the hut, and they sleep so heavily that they notice nothing. The Thongas tell a different story. According to them, the noyi is but a part of the personality. When he flies away, his "ntjhuti," his shadow, remains behind, lying on the mat. But it is not the true body that remains. It appears as such only to the foolish non-initiated. In reality what remains is a *wild beast*, with which the noyi has chosen to identify himself. This fact was disclosed to me by the following striking confession of S. Gana, a very intelligent Nkuna. "Suppose," he said, "my father is a noyi and I am not. I wish to marry a certain girl whom I love. My father knows that she is a noyi, because they all know each other, and he tells me: 'Don't do that! She is *clever*; you will repent!' However, I persist in my idea. He urges me to abandon the plan, and threatens me with great misfortune. I marry her. One night, my father enters my hut and awakens me. He says to me: 'What did I tell you! Look! Your wife has gone!' I look at her place and find her sleeping calmly — 'No. Here she is.' — 'That is not she! She is away! Take this assagai and stab her. — 'No, father, I dare not.' — 'Do as I say!' And he puts the assagai into my hand and makes me strike her violently in her leg. A cry, the cry of a wild beast, is heard, and a hyena appears in the place of my wife, a hyena which deposits its faeces in its fear, and escapes from the hut, howling. My father gives me some powder to swallow so that I shall be able to recognise the baloyi and their ways and habits. He leaves me — trembling greatly from fear — and goes home. When the sun is about to rise, I hear a noise like that of the wind in the branches, and suddenly something falls down from the top of the hut beside me. It is my wife. She lies sleeping, but her leg shows a wound, the wound that had been made in the hyena!"

From this dramatic story it must be inferred that, according to the idea of the Ba-Thonga, there is a true unsheathing of the personality when the noyi goes about its nightly work. 754 828

A second question arises, which is this. As the baloyi lead a double existence, a day-light existence in which they are merely men, and a nightly existence, in which they perform their work as witches, are they aware, during the day, of what they have done during the night? In other words, are they conscious of their doings as witches? The question is difficult to answer, as there seems to be no clear idea on this point in the Native mind. The old, genuine view is that a noyi *does not know what he is doing*; he is not even aware that he is a noyi until he has been revealed as such by the methods which will be explained later. Therefore he is unconscious. His nightly activity is unknown to him when he returns to his ordinary daily life. For instance, my informants assure me that a man may have sent a crocodile to kill another, during his noyi existence, but that he will be the first to show sympathy to the poor sufferer, and to deplore this sad accident. And he will be amazed when the diviner points him out as having caused the death by his buloyi, of which he was in entire ignorance. But those baloyi who have long practised their horrible tricks would seem to be aware and even proud of their doings, and therefore more or less conscious of their double life. Some of them go even further; they renounce their evil deeds and become magicians, using the knowledge they have acquired to baffle the enchantments of other baloyi, as we shall see.

But let us hear what the dreadful acts are which they commit in their baloyi form.

2) The Crimes of the Baloyi.

(a) The baloyi are in the first place *thieves*. This is the least criminal aspect of their activity. They steal mostly mealies or the products of the fields. They empty the ground-nuts of their contents (p. 12). The magicians have a kind of medicine with which they plaster their mealie cobs in the gardens, and the noyi, when he wants to tear them from the stalk, remains a prisoner 754